6: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951) 1958 OC6 Iban OC6

[20] The Iban of the Baleh region make no attempt to preserve lengthy genealogies and the longest line of succession that I collected was one of five generations, including the *pun bilek* who was still living. The Iban, in their bilateral society, are much more interested in the spread or scatter of relationships, where—in the absence of exact genealogical knowledge—they are guided by their classificatory system of kinship.

[21] That the proportions do not, in practice, work out as equally as one would predict from theoretical premises is significant, for it indicates that males marry out of their natal *bileks* slightly more often than do females. This tendency—running counter to complete utrolaterality—is probably to be accounted for by the fact that whereas Iban men regularly travel far away from their homes and so visit many other long-houses, where marriages are likely to be contracted, the womenfolk undertake such journeys very rarely indeed.

[22] I am using kindred in the same sense as W. H. R. Rivers: 'a group consisting of persons related to one another, other than by marriage, through both father and mother' (Rivers 1924: 16).

[23] For example, thirty-six of the 107 *bilek* families of our sample had come into being by process of partition during the lifetime of one of their living members.

[24] As, for example, among the Tallensi: '. . . every minimal lineage is a segment of a more inclusive lineage defined by reference to a common grandfather, and this, in turn, is a segment of a still wider lineage defined by reference to a common great-grandfather; and so on until the limit is reached—the maximal lineage, defined by reference to the remotest agnatic ancestor of the group' (Fortes 1945: 31).

[25] So Temenggong Jugah (of Sungai Merirai), a most intelligent Iban leader, gives as the main sources of *bilek* family partition: '*ari begarih*', and '*ari enggai besanghong*'. '*Ari begarih*' means 'from claiming more than one's fair share, from dividing something unequally'; while '*ari enggai besanghong*' means 'from refusal to get anything for a person whilst getting it for oneself', or, 'from refusal to co-operate on a basis of reciprocity' (Howell and Bailey 1900: 47, 148).

[26] In the two long-houses—Gansurai (nineteen doors), of Sungai Layar, and Plandok (thirteen doors), of Sungai Paku—which I studied in the Saribas district of the Second Division of Sarawak, there was not a single instance of married siblings occupying the same *bilek*.

[27] When the family is a large one as many as four or five siblings may be left behind in the ancestral *bilek*, and it sometimes happens that, after a lapse of years, another sibling marries and partition takes place a second time. It should also be noted that the senior section usually (i.e. in about 90% of cases) contains one or both of the parents of the seceding son or daughter. This means that when *bileks* divide they almost always divide into groups which are unequal both in numbers and in generation seniority

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12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

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Another way in which a different colour effect is produced is by means of weft stripes, and one example is enlarged in fig. 10, *c*, where the warp ends are first grouped into fives by means of a row of twining and then a shed is made of three and two warp ends alternately, through which there are first two picks of black and then two of red. A single pick of the ordinary weft then takes up the two groups and goes over, under, over the ends in the three groups right across the cloth, and this is followed by two picks of black through a shed similar to the first.

In the *kalambi*, *sirat* and girdles occasional weft stripes occur which may be either worked with a needle or woven by a spool; the needle would be the easier, as no new shed would have to be made.

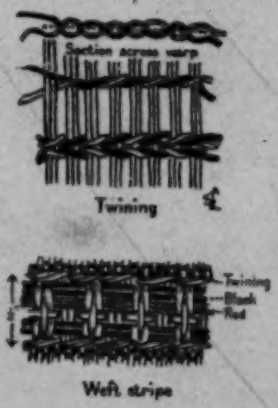

Fig. 10. Weft patterns.

Weft-patterned cloths

The Iban occasionally make use of a Malay loom or *tenjak*, and by means of a series of heddles and treadles set up in a suitable framework produce weft-patterned cloths, but these are rare and are not represented in our collection. When this type of loom is used the pattern itself loses its naïve quality and becomes a regular all-over design based on geometrical forms.

The patterns generally produced by this method are much more akin to Malay and Chinese designs than any produced by the warp-dyed method.

● 113 Iban methods of spinning and weaving fabrics, the apparatus employed and some finished cloths are given by the following: Ling Roth, 1896, I, pp. 29–54, with numerous illustrations; 1918, pp. 65–70, with illustrations. Other Indonesian looms are described.

J. A. Loeber, Jn., 1903, pl. III, 4, *tangga ubong*, Sarawak (British Museum, no. 1896.3.17), pl. IV, weaving, Saribas Dayak (copied from Beccari, 1904, fig. 13), pl. XIII, 1, "Geïkatte schering", pl. XIV, an Iban *pua*, pl. XIV, 1, an Iban *pua* (British Museum, 96.7); other Indonesian methods and fabrics

12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

are illustrated. Gomes, 1911, pls. pp. 52, 128. Hose and McDougall, 1912, I, pp. 221, 223, drawing of a *bidang*, fig. 61, photographs of *pua*, pls. 131, 132; owing to the process employed in reproduction the positions of the women are reversed in plates 118–121, thus the right hand appears to be the left hand. In Hose, 1926, they are shown correctly in the pl. facing p. 182; photograph of part of a *pua* and of a *bidang*, pl. p. 183.

DYES

The range of colour used by the Iban in dyeing their cotton yarn and tied-up webs is limited; shades of brown, from a pale buff to a vandyke, most frequently form the backgrounds to the patterns; the most effective is a reddish brown; brown is also the usual colour of the yarn used as weft.

For the brightly coloured stripes, generally found near the selvedges of the cloths, yarns dyed red, yellow, black, pale blue, or green are used, and sometimes an unusual effect has been produced by dipping a cloth which already has such stripes in an indigo bath.

All the dyes used in the cloths described are vegetable in origin and either act by oxidization or in conjunction with some simple alkali, such as wood ash or alum. Hose and McDougall (I, p. 222) say: "lime and gypsum are sometimes mixed with the watery extracts as mordaunts but these are probably modern refinements"; but Perkins and Everest (1918, p. 463) state that "at an early date in India and the Far East such other mordants as naturally occurring sulphates of aluminium and iron were used".

The rich reddish brown so successfully exploited by the Iban is obtained from the bark of the mangrove or of the *samak* tree and is a favourite colour with the Saribas women, who make the best fabric. A dark purple is obtained from the leaves of the *tarum* (indigo) plant. Many shades of duller brown are obtained from the *pinang*, *Areca catechu*, which may also be used as a mordant for other dyes. The catechu is dissolved in boiling water, the yarn is immersed in the hot bath of liquid from a half to a full hour for light shades of brown and steeped overnight for dark shades. The colour is developed with the liquor obtained from wood ash.

Yellow is obtained from turmeric and wood of the Jack-tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), known to the Iban as *pedalai*. This wood is rasped and used in

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000 36. Of the world ethnographic sample of 565 societies compiled by Murdock (1957) : 247 have patrilineal descent, 85 have matrilineal descent, 29 have double descent and 204 bilateral descent. (Murdock : personal communication, 1957)

37. Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p. 48.

38. I shall be dealing more fully with many of the issues touched on in this summary paper in a forthcoming book on Iban social structure.

39. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde, 1950; Fortes, 1953.

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17:Bedford D-5 (1958) 1959 OC6 Iban OC6

eminently satisfactory. This is due to the important place of rough milled rice in the daily diet, rice being very rich in iron.

To sum up these data, a significant proportion of the population of Rumah Bujak have a suboptimal daily protein intake. A significant proportion of the population have a suboptimal calorie intake due to the low fat content of their diet, they being unable to substitute sufficient carbohydrate for the fat deficit because of the large bulk that would be required.

These observations become very significant when it is remembered, as stated earlier in this paper, that the people of Rumah Bujak are relatively well-to-do and it is reasonable to expect that the diets analysed here are *the best obtainable in the Second Division.*

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177 423 largely unsettled areas of the Rejang as land opened for occupation and cultivation. The land which the Ibans had cleared already of virgin jungle with large trees and covered with secondary growth, looked especially appealing. What they did not understand and, surprisingly, what the Rajah would not comprehend, was the Iban attitude toward the land. The conflict basically was one between settlers whose farming techniques included the complete clearing and fertilization of land for permanent occupation and continuous cultivation, and shifting cultivators, whose techniques included clearing land sufficiently to plant rice amidst the stumps for one or two years, then moving on, but claiming usufruct rights in perpetuity[22] and assuming responsibilities to the spirits of those who had invested their energies and lives in the land.[23]

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[654] [22] A recent incident involved an Iban who claimed damages for loss of fruit trees cut down by a Government survey team on land he inherited but has not developed and has not seen in five years.

[23] "In my experience the administrator discussing land rights with a peasant is usually talking at cross purposes; for the former "my land" implies a personal individual form of tenure, for the latter it may involve a host of obligations towards abstrusely connected relatives not to mention their ancestral spirits. It seems to me altogether too much to suppose that the enterprising Iban who acquires registered land in a native area [113] suddenly adjusts his legal notions to those of the Land Office." (Leach, "Land and Custom," SG No. 1073, 1 August, 1947).

175 other land than that granted them.[24]
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The continuing disputes between Chinese and non-Chinese in the lower Rajang resulted in the promulgation of a number of land
[654] laws, aimed at protecting the indigenes from the Chinese.[25] Out-stations of the Land and Survey Department were established to carry out surveys and to establish property boundaries as well as to enforce
175 land regulations. Although the Second Rajah assumed that his intimate
177 knowledge of the Ibans served in his preservation of their "nativeness,"
423 yet the laws he instituted and the boundaries he drew around the various ethnic groups had far-reaching effects in the life of the Ibans. That these laws contravened the adat which was a part of the traditional Iban life as the Rajah perceived it, goes without saying.[26] His restraint

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[24] "Owing to the lack of a proper Land Department at Sibu, with consequently no surveys, land grants have been issued promiscuously in the past." (SG No. 804, 1 November, 1920).

[25] The most important land laws are those enacted in 1931 and 1933, on which present regulations are based.

[26] Writing on the bind Government officers find themselves in between land regulations and adat, F.R.K.K. warns that "much harm in land affairs (can be done) by rigourously following our existing land laws. . . We very much doubt whether the axiom in the 1939 Secretariat circular, 'Removal to another district automatically extinguishes all rights of user' is in every case in accordance with the customary law of a particular community. In fact, natives do change their abode, arrange for someone to look after their land and return afterwards to enjoy the benefit of the land. Again, the injunction, 'no community may hold up land in excess
[113] of requirements,' (who is to determine the 'requirements'?) ("Customary Land Tenure," SG No. 1130, 31 May, 1952).

197 of estates that are brought to the District Office for probate. Although
420 as one informant stated this is relatively new and not many Ibans are
657 aware of p'robit (v.f. m'ribit), yet in figures available, Iban estates accounted for almost one-third of those probated in Sibu. For example, in 1952, Iban estates numbered 37 of a total of 105 probated (see Table 11 on page 167). This development is due to several factors. First is the Iban principle of partible inheritance. With the exception of smoked head (antu pala'), all other objects in a bilik may be divided among the heirs. Usually, division is made between the heirs or, if they fail to agree on the division, the tuai rumah may be asked to determine the share of each heir. Second, as already noted, as the Ibans moved into the Sibu District, they planted rubber gardens and began the cultivation of swamp rice, with a resulting sedentariness. Instead of cultivating and moving on, as had been their practice, they invested time, energy
175 and money in the development of their lands. Third, with the Chinese
423 immigrations reaching flood proportions by the mid-1920's, it became expedient if not imperative for Ibans to acquire O.T's ("Occupation Tickets") to guarantee their rights to farmlands and rubber gardens. Without an O.T., an Iban faced possible litigation over land to which he claimed usufruct rights, but to which a Chinese had been granted a temporary title.[30]

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[30] In 1925, when 4,000 Chinese immigrants arrived in Sibu, a total of 3,100 temporary titles or O.T.'s were issued for "newly opened land," much of which was still claimed by Ibans as it had been farmed recently by them. This was a prime cause of the "Binatang Disputes of 1925" (SGG 16 August, 1926, see also SG No. 1331, 1969: 13-15).
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18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

177 758 proportion of patients who frequent private practitioners is virtually the same as the figures above, that is overall 38 per cent are Chinese, 32 per cent Iban, and 30 per cent Malay. It is not uncommon for some Ibans to solicit treatment both in the Government Hospital and from a private doctor in the same morning, particularly if the personnel in the [789] former institution refuses to give an injection (beiik). So deep is the faith of many Ibans in the magic of needle, that on occasion they will go to two doctors on the same day, not telling the second that they have been treated by the other.

In 1955, a maternity clinic providing ante-natal and post-natal care for mothers and infants was begun. A majority of women receiving help are Chinese, but an increasing number of Iban women are availing themselves of the services the clinic offers.

Another medical service which has grown in importance to the population is the Family Planning Clinic. Begun in 1963, the clinic deals with almost 15,000 women annually. Iban response at first slow due to a lack of understanding of the work of the clinic, but in 1970, Ibans were the largest single ethnic group visiting the clinic.

2. Welfare Agencies

177 Since the Second World War, a number of welfare agencies have been founded in Sibu.[43] The functions of many of these agencies are new

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[43] For a discussion of welfare agencies in Sarawak, see The Sarawak Gazette No. 1268, 31 October, 1963, pp. 253-261.

[113]

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511 The fall of rubber prices over the past two years has made the situation of many more Ibans critical. We have noted in Chapter One that most of the rubber produced by Ibans is either unsmoked sheet or Grade 5 (RSS), for which tappers may expect ten cents (Malaysian) per cattie. It is not surprising that most people have stopped tapping their trees,[8] and in some cases actually have cut down their trees.

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[113] Maintenance of security within the Third Division is an awesome task. Divided by the Rajang River and its scores of tributaries, the land is a patchwork of swamps and hillocks in the lower areas, rising to high [484] hills cut by swiftly flowing streams in the upper reaches. Travel is difficult at best for roads for virtually non-existent outside the pasars and the Sibu-Oya-Kuching development. Despite modern weaponry and airborne troops, the mushroom tactics of the elusive terrorists in the heavily wooded terrain make their containment a militarist's nightmare.[9]

167 Considering the problems of making a living and the unsettled conditions due to terrorist activities over against the attractions which many Ibans perceive in urban areas, it is understandable why some of their number have opted for life in the pasar, and why we predict that more are

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[8]Except those persons who have mature high-yielding trees.

[9]One official estimates the number of terrorists in the Third Division at 700, but the exact number is unknown, and by strikes and hiding they rarely encounter security forces except by design.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban 006
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